

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 253550

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ORIGIN IO-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-04 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00

USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-05 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 /063 R

DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:RCREIS, JR:BDF

APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY

IO:WBBUFFUM

P:JJSISCO

AF:EWMULCAHY

L:GALDRICH

S/S:REWOODS

----- 005285

O 170108Z NOV 74

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 253550

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SF, WA, US

SUBJECT: SOUTH AFRICA, NAMIBIA, RHODESIA, AND THE UN

PRETORIA FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY EASUM

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

1. AS REPORTED CAPE TOWN 0733, BRITISH AMBASSADOR THERE HAS TOLD OUR EMBASSY HE INSTRUCTED TO INFORM SOUTH AFRICA OF UK BELIEF THERE NEED FOR REAL CHANGES NOW IN SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT POLICIES ON APARTHEID, NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA. ON NOVEMBER 7 FRENCH EMBASSY OFFICER, ON INSTRUCTIONS, SUGGESTED TO DEPARTMENT OFFICERS JOINT US, UK, FRENCH APPROACH TO SOUTH AFRICA TO URGE IT ALLOW SELF-CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 STATE 253550

DETERMINATION IN NAMIBIA, TO ENCOURAGE SETTLEMENT IN

RHODESIA, AND END WITHOUT DELAY MOST SHOCKING FORMS OF PETTY APARTHEID. EMBASSY CAPE TOWN SHOULD INFORM FRENCH AND UK AMBASSADORS AND MAKE APPROACH DESCRIBED IN PARAGRAPH 6 BELOW. YOU WILL NOTE THAT OUR GUIDANCE PRINCIPALLY FOCUSES ON NAMIBIA AND SOUTH RHODESIA, ALTHOUGH APARTHEID IS ALSO REFERRED TO. (WE EXPECT UK AND FRENCH WILL GO BEYOND THIS.) WE BELIEVE LONDON AND PARIS SHOULD INFORM HOST GOVERNMENTS OF DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPE TOWN.

2. DURING SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE ON SOUTH AFRICA WHICH ENDED OCTOBER 30, SOUTH AFRICAN PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE

BOTHA MADE STATEMENT TOUCHING ON NAMIBIA, RHODESIA, AND APARTHEID WHICH HE AND SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS BILLED AS PRESAGING SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN SA POLICY ON SOUTHERN AFRICA. ZAMBIAN PRESIDENT KAUNDA RESPONDED TO VORSTER'S OCTOBER 23 STATEMENT IN CONCILIATORY SPEECH OCTOBER 26. TANZANIAN PRESIDENT NYERERE HAS ALSO INDICATED IN RECENT TALK WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY EASUM THAT IF SOUTH AFRICA ALLOWED SELF-DETERMINATION IN NAMIBIA AND PROMOTED SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA, SOUTH AFRICA WOULD HAVE MORE TIME TO WORK OUT ITS DOMESTIC PROBLEMS. IN A SUBSEQUENT SPEECH NOVEMBER 5, VORSTER STATED THE WORLD WOULD WITNESS SURPRISING CHANGES IN SOUTH AFRICA IN THE NEXT SIX TO TWELVE MONTHS.

3. THOUGH SPEAKERS IN SC DEBATE EXPRESSED SCEPTICISM ABOUT BOTHA'S PROMISES, DEPARTMENT INCLINED TO ACCEPT STATEMENT ON GROUNDS THAT IT NOW IN SOUTH AFRICA'S INTEREST TO MAKE ACCOMMODATION WITH OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES, TO PROMOTE RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT ACCEPTABLE TO AFRICANS, AND TO ALLOW SELF-DETERMINATION IN NAMIBIA. SOUTH AFRICANS CLEARLY BELIEVE THAT PORTUGAL'S DECISION TO DECOLONIZE HAS ALTERED SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA RADICALLY. UNTIL NOW ONLY PART OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN TERRITORY CONTIGUOUS TO POTENTIALLY HOSTILE AFRICAN STATE WAS SHORT CAPRIVI STRIP BORDER WITH ZAMBIA. WHEN MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA BECOME INDEPENDENT, SOUTH AFRICA WITH NAMIBIA WILL ABUT FOR OVER 1,000 MILES COUNTRIES
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 253550

GOVERNED BY FORMER LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. IT SEEMS APPARENT FROM SOUTH AFRICAN STATEMENTS THAT SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT SLOWLY COMING TO VIEW THAT NAMIBIA NOT DEFENSIBLE OVER LONG RUN AND THAT THERE IS DOUBT AS TO WHETHER WHITE RHODESIA CAN SURVIVE INDEFINITELY.

4. DEPARTMENT BELIEVES THAT IT IS VERY MUCH IN SOUTH AFRICA'S INTEREST FOR IT TO ALLOW SELF-DETERMINATION

IN NAMIBIA AND TO PERSUADE SMITH REGIME TO WORK MORE OPENLY TOWARD REALISTIC SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA. BY DOING SO, SOUTH AFRICA WOULD AVOID DRAINS ON RESOURCES AND MANPOWER AND COULD WELL STAVE OFF HOSTILE ACTIVITIES AT UN. US, UK, FRANCE AND OTHER DEVELOPED COUNTRIES WITH TIES TO SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BENEFIT FROM CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA'S POLICY TOWARD NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA TO EXTENT IT CONTRIBUTES TO GREATER STABILITY IN SOUTHERN TIP OF AFRICA.

5. FOR OVER 25 YEARS IN THE UN THE US HAS TAKEN THE POSITION THAT APARTHEID IS IN VIOLATION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE CHARTER. IN OUR VIEW SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD NOW BEGIN TO MAKE ARRANGEMENTS TO ALLOW EARLY AND FULL SELF-DETERMINATION IN NAMIBIA AND SHOULD USE ITS INFLUENCE IN RHODESIA TO BRING ABOUT EQUITABLE SOLUTION. WE WELCOME AUTHORITATIVE SAG STATEMENTS REGARDING MOVEMENT AWAY FROM RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, BOTH FOR HUMANITARIAN REASONS AND FOR IMPROVED PROSPECTS SUCH MOVEMENT WOULD PROVIDE PEACEFUL CHANGE AND INTERNATIONAL STABILITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. WE BELIEVE THAT HAVING PREVENTED SOUTH AFRICA'S EXPULSION, US, UK, FRANCE ENJOY NOW CERTAIN MEASURE OF INFLUENCE WITH SOUTH AFRICA. RECENT PRESS REACTION IN SOUTH AFRICA TO TRIPLE VETO SUGGESTS THERE IS CONSIDERABLE EXPECTATION THAT IT IS JUST WHAT US, UK, AND FRANCE WILL ASK AFTER HAVING PREVENTED SOUTH AFRICA'S EXPULSION.

6. FOR AMBASSADOR HURD: YOU SHOULD INFORM BRITISH AND FRENCH AMBASSADORS THAT YOU HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO JOIN IN MAKING A PARALLEL APPROACH TO SOUTH AFRICA. IN APPROACH, YOU SHOULD OPEN CONVERSATION INDICATING WE WELCOME OPPORTUNITY FOR TALK IN SPIRIT OF FRIENDSHIP,
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PAGE 04 STATE 253550

MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING, AND PARALLEL INTERESTS WE HAVE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. PURPOSE OF THE DISCUSSION IS NOT TO PREACH TO SOUTH AFRICA BUT TO ASSESS REALISTICALLY TOGETHER THE MAJOR NEW DEVELOPMENTS ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. WE SEEK A CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE WHICH, IN ADDITION TO EXPRESSING OUR OWN VIEWPOINT, WILL PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY TO SOLICIT FROM SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT ITS OWN APPRAISAL OF OVERALL IMPLICATIONS OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN AREA.

-- STATE WE WELCOME INDICATIONS THAT SA BELIEVES THAT IT IS TIME TO REVIEW ITS POLICIES IN LIGHT NEW SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA;

-- EXPRESS OUR VIEW THAT WE HAVE SHARED INTEREST IN ORDERLY TRANSITION TO MAJORITY-RULED GOVERNMENTS IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA;

-- NAMIBIA IS AN ESPECIALLY URGENT AND HARMFUL ISSUE (VIS-A-VIS RHODESIA) SINCE THE FATE OF NAMIBIA IS ENTIRELY WITHIN THE DETERMINATION OF SOUTH AFRICA, AND SINCE MOST OF THE WORLD CONSIDERS THAT THE CONTINUED OCCUPATION OF THE TERRITORY BY SOUTH AFRICA IS CLEARLY ILLEGAL;

-- ASSERT THE NECESSITY OF SAG MAKING PLANS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE WHOLE TERRITORY OF NAMIBIA WITHIN A SHORT TIME;

-- PROPOSE THAT SOUTH AFRICA ENTER INTO DISCUSSIONS WITH SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM ON ARRANGEMENTS FOR SPEEDY SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE TERRITORY OF NAMIBIA, AND ISSUE SPECIFIC, UNEQUIVOCAL STATEMENT OF ITS INTENTIONS WITH REGARD TO TERRITORY;

-- URGE SOUTH AFRICA TO PURSUE ITS EFFORTS WITH SMITH TO NEGOTIATE A SATISFACTORY SETTLEMENT; THIS IS CONSISTENT WITH PUBLIC STATEMENTS MADE BY VORSTER AND MUELLER;

-- NOTE FAVORABLY PRIME MINISTER VORSTER'S STATEMENT
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PAGE 05 STATE 253550

REGARDING SOUTH AFRICA'S INTEREST IN ITS AFRICAN NEIGHBORS AND OBSERVE THAT CLEAR MOVEMENT AWAY FROM DISCRIMINATION AS FORECAST BY PRIME MINISTER VORSTER AND BY AMBASSADOR BOTHA IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD SUPPORT THIS OBJECTIVE OF IMPROVING SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONS WITH AFRICAN COUNTRIES AS WELL AS SOUTH AFRICA'S OVERALL INTERNATIONAL POSITION.

7. FOR LONDON AND PARIS: AS INDICATED IN PARAGRAPH 1, UK AND FRANCE ALSO MAKING APPROACHES TO SOUTH AFRICA. REQUEST YOU INFORM FCO AND QUAI OF OUR VIEWS, INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPE TOWN AND TALKING POINTS IN PARAGRAPH 6. YOU SHOULD SAY THAT AS FOLLOW-UP TO SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE, WE PLEASED TO BE MAKING PARALLEL APPROACH TO SOUTH AFRICA. PROVIDING CONCRETE EVIDENCE OF ITS GOOD WILL ON NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA WOULD BE POSITIVE STEP FOR SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF AND LESSEN IMPACT OF ANOTHER CONFRONTATION AT UN. MORE IMPORTANTLY, APPROACHES BY US, UK, AND FRANCE MAY HELP MOVE SOUTH AFRICA TO TAKE STEPS WITH REGARD TO NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA THAT COULD RESULT IN SOLUTIONS TO PERSISTENT AND DISRUPTIVE PROBLEMS. KISSINGER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: HUMAN RIGHTS, APARTHEID, UNSC RESOLUTIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 17 NOV 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: cunninfx
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974STATE253550
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: RCREIS, JR:BDF
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740332-0202
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741136/aaaabeej.tel
Line Count: 222
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: cunninfx
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 06 MAY 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <06 MAY 2002 by cunninfx>; APPROVED <20 MAR 2003 by cunninfx>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SOUTH AFRICA, NAMIBIA, RHODESIA, AND THE UN PRETORIA FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY EASUM
TAGS: PINT, SF, WA, US, UN
To: CAPE TOWN MULTIPLE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005